

Subject Teacher Training and Teaching in English

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1. Introduction

English has been taught in the Finnish schools as the most common foreign language since the start of the comprehensive school in the early 1970's (Numminen & Piri 1998: 8). In many bigger schools in Finland, students have a choice in their first foreign language, but probably due to English being the lingua franca in the world nowadays, it is the favourite choice of almost all students (Finnish National Board of Education 2001: 22). In the last two decades, English has also become the medium of teaching in some schools or classes in the public mainstream education. This became possible after a change in school legislation in 1991 allowed another language besides the students' mother tongue to be the teaching language if it is found meaningful and "if it does not jeopardize a student's opportunity to follow teaching" (Mustaparta & Tella 1999: 15). In CLIL education (content and language integrated learning), a foreign language (L2) is used as the medium of teaching. Different Finnish schools offer CLIL education at least in Swedish, English, German, Russian, French, and Spanish. Most often, however, the foreign language of instruction is English, and most often both the teacher and students speak English as a foreign or second language (L2).

Because people's identity can be strengthened and developed by learning foreign languages (Kaikkonen 2005), teaching and learning a foreign language can have a great impact on a student's life. Thus, it matters what kind of teaching students receive and how well they learn foreign languages because it will influence how individuals experience foreign cultures and how they relate to themselves and to the world in general. Foreign language acquisition is a lifelong process and thus part of lifelong learning (Luukka & Pöyhönen 2007: 453; Coyle 2007: 545).

Target language mastery and subject matter learning in CLIL and bilingual education have been studied in Finland (e.g. Laitinen 2001) and elsewhere in the world (e.g. Genesee 1987; Baker 2006), but there are few recent studies to be found on CLIL and EFL (English as a foreign language) teachers teaching in

English. Thus, in this Master's thesis, I want to concentrate on teachers' perspectives. I want to take a look into teachers' conceptions of language and about teaching in English; how they cope with the demands of using a language other than their mother tongue in teaching; what kind of challenges they face or triumphs they experience. I will use interview as my research method, and the results will be viewed and critically examined in light of previous research and literature on CLIL education.

I am currently involved in STEP Project (Subject Teacher Education – Teachers' Pedagogical Studies in English) at the Department of Teacher Education in the University of Helsinki. The STEP Project is planning and piloting subject teachers' pedagogical studies in English to be offered for both Finnish and international students. As part of this study, I also want to explore what teachers would find important in international subject teacher education.

I am expecting to gain practical information about CLIL and EFL teachers' everyday work and experiences of working with a foreign language. I am anticipating to hear more positive than negative stories as earlier studies on CLIL education look promising from students' point of view. As a parent of children in bilingual education, I have been able to closely follow their progress and experience in classes taught by different teachers. A special interest in this study is on CLIL teachers who do not have formal English education, as this can be expected to be the case with a lot of CLIL teachers in Finland. The Ministry of Education has set a language competence requirement for CLIL teachers, but what kind of a role does it play, and what do the teachers think about it? How much of a lesson do the CLIL teachers use English and what factors influence their choice? With this study, I want to give a voice to the teachers who do their work year in and year out.

2. CLIL Education

Variegated forms of CLIL education have existed in the world since the Roman times. Finland used to educate university students only in Swedish until the 1850's. The Canadian form of immersion education, which started in the 1960's, is often considered the example for European CLIL education but, for example, Luxembourg has had bilingual education since the 1840's (Coyle 2007: 543). Finland was a latecomer to modern CLIL education. The first immersion classes in Swedish were founded in Vaasa in the late 1980's, and after the legislative changes CLIL classes in English started to become more popular in the early 1990's. They are considered an innovative way for students to gain a functional foreign language competence within the strict guidelines of the national curricula without adding extra lessons. (Takala *et al.* 1998: 140). CLIL education offers students authentic language use and learning in social interaction that have a favourable effect on their learning. In this section I will shortly explain the main varieties of CLIL education and discuss previous research relating to CLIL.

2.1. Definition of CLIL

There is not merely one way of teaching in a foreign language, and neither are the terms used for it unambiguous. Especially in Europe and recommended by the European Commission, CLIL is an umbrella term used for all education conducted in a foreign language (de Graaff *et al.* 2007: 604). CLIL is realized in a variety of ways and in diverse quantities, from just an odd lesson here and there offered in a foreign language to almost all education being conducted in that medium (Coyle 2007: 545). In Finland, there are schools that call their CLIL education e.g. immersion education, bilingual education, English-emphasized education or English stream. The term *immersion* (in Finnish *kielikylpy*) is a form of CLIL education and is normally limited to referring to teaching students from the majority language through the language of the minority population in that country (Genesee 1987: 1–5). Thus in Finland, it commonly refers to teaching Finnish-speaking children in Swedish. Immersion education started in Canada in the 1960's when a group of active English-speaking parents were

frustrated with inefficient French teaching in the schools and wanted to find an alternative method of second language teaching, especially to improve children's oral skills. Immersion education, where at least 50% of the teaching is conducted in the second language, was developed as a consequence of their efforts (Genesee 1987: 9–11). The term *bilingual education* (in Finnish *kaksikielinen opetus*) often refers to education that is conducted according to similar principles as immersion, but the language used for teaching is other than the minority language of the country, in Finland most often English. Immersion or bilingual education is usually started in Grade 1 (if not earlier in day care and Kindergarten), whereas English stream or English emphasized education may be offered as separate and isolated courses in the lower or upper secondary school, for example in home economics, physical education, arts, or sciences etc. (Mustaparta & Tella 1999: 32–33; Marsh 2003).

There are also variations in the amount of English used during one lesson. Some CLIL programs recommend for a teacher to use only English during one lesson and Finnish in another, or a bilingual teacher uses only English with bilingual classes and another teacher teaches other lessons for those students in Finnish. In other programs, the mother tongue can be used 0–75% of the lesson time. Entry requirements into CLIL education in different Finnish schools vary, and some schools accept all applicants or have no specific guidelines. In some elementary schools, children are tested for their language readiness skills in Finnish in order to chart their preparedness for learning (schools' websites and personal contact with schools as source of information). Some schools and programs also test children's English skills but not all even if the children would be taught in English in half or the majority of the subjects.

In the background section of this Master's thesis, I will generally not distinguish the diverse CLIL versions from each other, and instead call them jointly with the umbrella term CLIL. In the Results section, I will describe in more detail in which type of teaching the interviewed teachers participate and call them bilingual class teachers and bilingual subject teachers. I will continue to use the term CLIL for the education they offer.

2.2. Benefits of CLIL

The objectives in CLIL education regarding students' language competence vary depending on the starting age and amount of teaching in the L2. The objective in early bilingual education is to reach functional English skills (see e.g. Genesee 1987; Laitinen 2001) and in Finland bilingual education often continues until the end of the basic school and even in the upper secondary. In CLIL teaching that starts later and is in lesser quantities the objectives are different. If students enter a CLIL class for the first time in lower or upper secondary school, they have already learned a working knowledge of the language in a traditional foreign language class.

A host of research has been conducted on CLIL education and how it affects students' language competence and content knowledge, both in Finland and in the world (e.g. Genesee 1987; Järvinen 1999; Laitinen 2001; Baker 2006; Kuoppala 2009a). Bilingual education started early has produced very good English competence. There has been a lot of research on the French-immersion program in Canada, as it was the forerunner for modern immersion education (e.g. Genesee 1987). Immersion students have demonstrated no lags in achievement in their school subjects although they have studied in a second language. Students have also achieved "a high level of functional proficiency in French" (Genesee 1987: 47) and have performed close to native levels in e.g. listening comprehension, although according to other research, they "cannot be mistaken for native speakers of French" (Spilka 1976, as in Genesee 1987: 47). Compared to students learning French as a foreign language, the French-immersion students have performed noticeably better (Genesee 1987: 45).

Studies on CLIL in Finland have received similar positive results. Laitinen (2001) compared the English skills of fifth grade bilingual (she used the term immersion) education students to those in the ninth grade studying English as a regular foreign language. Her research showed that the bilingual students were more homogeneous in their English skills than the ninth graders. There were no poor performances by the bilingual students who also possessed better mastery of English skills in all tested language areas (reading and listening

comprehension, grammar, writing, oral skills, and receptive vocabulary), except for reading skills, in spite of the fact of being four years younger than the comparison group. In studies done on the attainment of content knowledge and mother tongue skills, CLIL students have performed at least as well as the students in mainstream mother tongue education (see e.g. Seikkula-Leino 2004).

CLIL education in lesser quantities has also been found to be beneficial for students L2 skills, especially as an improvement in their vocabulary, listening comprehension and courage to use the L2 (Nikula & Marsh 1997: 85–87). For example Turnbull (2001: 534) has studied L2 attainment when taking into account how much of an EFL lesson teachers speak the target language. Teachers' dominant use of the L2 resulted in higher student proficiency of that language than in classes where EFL teachers spoke mostly the mother tongue.

CLIL teaching can be considered as a way to strengthen students' language learning, and to offer them a forum to utilize their language skills in a natural way, as well as to prepare them for university level studies where a part of the education in any department may be in English, or at least many text books in almost any field are found only in English. CLIL education also goes hand in hand with the communicative language teaching recommendations in the national core curricula. Making learning more interesting by adding the challenge of a foreign language can also increase students' motivation and commitment to learning (Kaikkonen & Kohonen 2000: 8).

2.3. CLIL from Governmental Perspectives

The Finnish system of foreign language teaching has been under scrutiny and critique over the years, also in public discussions in newspapers. For example, Koskela (2008) complained that her Swedish teacher refused to speak Swedish with the students or arrange Swedish conversation exercises among the students even after repeated requests by the students themselves. Lindman (2008), on the other hand, substituted a German teacher and was greeted by

astonished students because she spoke German to them – whereas their regular German teacher had not.

CLIL has been adopted and is offered as an alternative method to acquiring functional foreign language skills. The CLIL environment provides informal and natural language learning opportunities for students. The Finnish Ministry of Education agrees that foreign language teaching can be made more motivating and more efficient through integrating language and content instruction, because it is not feasible to increase the amount of time for teaching foreign languages (Takala *et al.* 1998: 141). CLIL education is also promoted by the European Union as a way to achieve plurilingualism. The European Commission has set an objective for all Europeans to have a command of three languages: their mother tongue and two foreign languages (known as the MT + 2 Formula). Back in 1995, it was already suggested as a European language policy that secondary school level students would study certain subjects in their first foreign language (European Commission 1995: 47). According to Marsh (2003), CLIL “has emerged as a pragmatic European solution to a European need.” The Finnish Core Curriculum (Finnish National Board of Education 2004) also states that learning should be meaningful and experiential. Students’ positive attitude is important for language acquisition. As well as elsewhere in Europe, CLIL teaching was implemented in Finland because it offers students an environment for authentic, relevant and interesting use of an L2 (Takala 1992: 141).

3. CLIL and EFL Teachers

There is variation in the education and qualifications that different CLIL teachers have. In Finland, teachers teaching in the elementary school (grades one through six) are usually class teachers and, thus, have a Master of Education degree. Teachers in the lower and upper secondary schools are subject teachers with a Master's degree in one or more subjects. English subject teachers have a Master's degree in English Philology, or in the case of having English as their second subject, they have completed minor studies in English. As the qualifications for language teachers are clearly stipulated by the Ministry of Education, in this section I will focus more closely on CLIL teachers, as the matter is more complex for their qualifications and those requirements are not as well known.

3.1. CLIL Teachers' Language Skills

According to Marsh (2003), teachers do not need to have native or near-native competence in the target language for all forms of delivery, although they need a high level of fluency in order to be able to run their classes efficiently in the foreign language. Marsland (1997: 36) argues that teachers need a high level of linguistic awareness so that foreign language acquisition can be actively encouraged during CLIL education. This factor is different from a usual subject class where content is learned in students' mother tongue (L1) and linguistic features need not be taken into account in a similar manner. In CLIL education, the language is a medium for producing meaning (Nikula & Marsh 1997: 7), and although meaning is the main focus of learning, focus on form is also found important to support students' language development (Baker 2006: 307). Content is taught *through* a foreign language. The automatic comprehension process, which happens when teaching is through L1, does not occur when teaching is conducted through L2 (Marsland 1997: 39). Marsland also questions whether a high level of linguistic awareness can be reached if teachers do not possess a high level of proficiency in the language they are teaching. De Graaff *et al.* (2007: 603) challenge this further by asking if it is possible for those CLIL

teachers who speak the L2 fluently but do not have a background in language pedagogy to effectively contribute to their students' L2 development. However, earlier research has shown (see e.g. Nikula & Marsh 1997: 48) that teachers should be ready to show their own weaknesses with the foreign language. This encourages students to use the language themselves and proves that being a competent language user does not require perfect language skills. In CLIL teaching, the key issue is to have competent language skills for the teaching context (Marsh 1999: 45). This fact may emphasize teachers' self-confidence; sometimes teachers need to accept the fact that they have students in their classroom who may speak better English than the teachers themselves.

Contrary to common belief, native English speakers are not automatically better CLIL teachers. Since it is important for teachers to adapt their language to the students' level of competence, non-native speakers are often considered more suitable than those native speakers who would not understand the students' mother tongue (Mustaparta & Tella 1999: 36). Many experts (e.g. Nikula & Marsh 1997; Coonan 2007; de Graaff *et al.* 2007), however, question whether qualifications for teaching a certain subject and competent language skills are enough: training as a specialized CLIL teacher is considered to be important so that teachers can develop students' ability to learn content matter in a language other than their mother tongue with less than native-level skills. Baker (2006: 307) sees it as a weakness in the program if CLIL teachers do not have training in the special skills and techniques required in CLIL classrooms.

3.2. CLIL Teachers' Language Skill Qualifications in Finland

Since young children are in a more receptive age to acquiring especially proper pronunciation (see e.g. Lightbown & Spada 2006), according to some research, it is considered even more important for elementary level teachers to have a high mastery of English than for teachers in higher grades because of the example the teachers give to students (Nikula & Marsh 1997: 43). In higher grades vocabulary is more specialized, but mastery of high-level general language skills is still important because things are explicated through

explanations and description rather than made explicit by definite and distinct terms (Nikula & Marsh 1997: 45). Some CLIL class teachers are also specialized in the foreign language they teach in, but others may have learned the language while living abroad or simply learned it in school as a foreign language. A decree in Finland from 1999 stipulates that if a teacher teaches more than 4 weekly lessons on average or 4 courses in a year in a foreign language, then he or she needs either to have 80 study credits (ECTS) worth of language philology studies in that L2 at a university, or pass a general language test on Level 5 (Finnish National Board of Education 2005). The requirement of 80 study credits is in fact more than completing a minor in English, which would be 60 study credits. The general language test is diverse and measures candidates' language competence in reading, writing, vocabulary and structure, listening comprehension and speaking. Level 5 of the general language test is described as:

Understands longer, normal-tempoed speech that is heard face-to-face and, for example, on television and radio, although sometimes comprehension may require some effort. Understands structurally and linguistically complex texts and literature from our own time. Speaks and writes clearly and fluently of diverse topics but using uncommon words or complex sentence structures may, however, cause difficulties. Usually masters grammar and vocabulary well and in diverse ways. (Finnish National Board of Education 2005)

Although the descriptions are different, Level 5 of the general language test is concordant with Level C1, Proficient User, in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEF):

Can understand a wide range of demanding, longer texts, and recognise implicit meaning. Can express him/herself fluently and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions. Can use language flexibly and effectively for social, academic and professional purposes. Can produce clear, well-structured, detailed text on complex subjects, showing controlled use of organisational patterns, connectors and cohesive devices (CEF 2001: 24).

The CEF is a language competence grid developed by the European Commission for aiding international comparison of language skills and language tests. Both the general language test in Finland and the CEF have six levels, levels 5 and C1 being the second highest. Descriptions of the objectives for and

assessment of students' foreign language mastery in the Finnish basic school (grades 1 through 9) is also based on the CEF levels.

3.3. Teaching Methods

Earlier research has shown that changing the teaching language often also brings about changes in teaching methods (e.g. Nikula & Marsh 1997: 120). Teachers often need to become more concrete and more focused. Lesson planning is of high importance (Coonan 2007: 637). Lessons have a lot of repetition because teachers need to confirm students' understanding regularly. The dual-focus of learning language along with learning content also requires teachers to pay attention to the language they are using (Nikula & Marsh 1997: 52). Coonan (2007: 633) argues that CLIL has made teachers realize that students' comprehension cannot be taken for granted, and it has made CLIL teachers apply more interactional teaching methods that get students more involved during lessons. Because teachers are using a language other than their mother tongue, their personal teaching style may be affected. Some research has shown that teachers use less humour and are less spontaneous in enlivening either live discussions or teaching in general due to lack of extensive language skills (Marsh 1999: 46). However, being more concise is necessarily not negative for the students, because the core matter is then more in focus of teaching (Nikula & Marsh 1997: 55). CLIL teachers often have a heightened awareness of their students as they adjust their teaching and language in order to take into account that students are learning in an L2 (Coonan 2007: 641). Some research shows that not all teachers change their teaching methods when the language changes. Experts recommend, however, that teachers should take into account the fact that although they can function just as well in both languages, their students might not be able to do the same (Nikula & Marsh 1997: 52).

Some CLIL teachers mix languages during one lesson, utilizing both the foreign language and mother tongue intermittently. Sometimes this depends on a particular school's policy or the kind of CLIL teaching that is offered there.

According to Spada (2007: 280–281), the use of mother tongue can be rationalized if it supports students' learning of the content matter. However, Brown (2001: 99) warns that even in regular foreign language lessons mother tongue use should be kept to a minimum, so that students do not rely on it too extensively. If a teacher gives instructions first in the foreign language and afterwards repeats the same in the mother tongue, there is a danger that students completely ignore the instructions in the foreign language (Wong-Fillmore 1985: 35; Baker 2006: 234). In CLIL education, sometimes it may be necessary to review vocabulary of the matter being taught, comparing terms in both the L1 and L2, in order to enhance comprehension of the content (Nikula & Marsh 1997: 61). However, lessons need to be challenging for students so that their interest and motivation is preserved (Brown 2001: 111).

Although the Finnish Board of Education supports teaching in foreign languages through different development programs (Luukka & Pöyhönen 2007: 458), the Finnish national core curriculum mentioned teaching through a foreign language for the first time in 2004, and it does not give any clear guidelines on how to organize teaching in an L2 (Meriläinen 2008: 15). Thus, schools and even teachers themselves are left with a lot of responsibility for arranging CLIL education. CLIL teachers often have to collect and make up their own teaching material because ready-made books are not available. This is sometimes considered problematic for especially those CLIL teachers who are not language experts, because the difficulty in the level of language should match the students' L2 competence (Nikula & Marsh 1997: 49).

3.4. Teachers' Self-Reflection

An important aspect of teachers' professional development is self-reflection where teachers examine their own teaching and justify the pedagogical choices they make in their teaching (Harjanne & Tella 2008: 742). Teachers should be conscious of their personal didactics, i.e. the reasons that impact their decisions on using certain features or emphasis in their own teaching. Teachers also need to realize that their own attitudes and skills reflect their actions which in

turn form the learning environment for students (CEF 2001: 144). Teachers should also be prepared to explain their choices (Harjanne & Tella 2008: 743). According to Morgan (2004: 172), teachers' personality and identity have only recently emerged as a subtopic in the field of teacher education and should be considered as a pedagogical resource especially in CLIL and L2 education. They affect the teachers' teaching style and methods, which in turn influence students' learning. Teachers need to be conscious of their own beliefs and their world of values and reflect on their experiences on teaching so that they can capitalize on those experiences (Borg 2006: 283). As some of the teachers in this study will explain, being self-critical and honestly reflecting on their own teaching help to improve their own skills. This study will also show that some teachers are more conscious of the choices they make, e.g. regarding the language they use during lessons, and others are less so.

4. Subject Teacher Training in English

In the mid-1990's, the Department of Teacher Education at the University of Helsinki offered class teacher education in English for two groups of students who started in two consecutive years. However, financing for the education was stopped after the second group of students graduated. Since then, the Department has only offered English language courses for international exchange students but no English-language program has existed that would grant teacher qualifications. Now, according to the *Strategy for the Internationalisation of Higher Education Institutions 2009–2015* (Ministry of Education, Finland 2009: 29) and the *Strategic Plan for the University of Helsinki 2010–2012* (University of Helsinki 2009: 49), internationalization is seen as an essential component of improving higher education in Finland. Part of genuine internationalization is that foreign language education is provided in order to attract foreign teachers and researchers and to increase reciprocal student mobility, as well as to offer “Finnish students an opportunity to participate in foreign-language education in a multicultural environment in their home country” (ibid.). Although the Finnish school and Finnish education have already received positive attention all over the world, for example because of Finnish students’ excellent results in the international PISA studies, the University of Helsinki recognizes its responsibility for improving teacher education. STEP Project (Subject Teacher Education – Teachers’ Pedagogical Studies in English) at the Department of Teacher Education is currently planning and piloting subject teacher education in English that will be geared for both Finnish and foreign students (Hildén *et al.* 2009; www.helsinki.fi/teacher_education/step). As I am working in the STEP Project as a teaching assistant, I wanted to ask the teachers participating in this study what they would find important in international subject teacher education.

5. Methodology

The purpose of this study was to find out conceptions that EFL teachers and CLIL teachers have about language and teaching of or in English. CLIL teachers teach content through English, thus they have a dual-focus in their teaching compared to the English teachers who teach English as a language subject. In this study, it is of interest how CLIL teachers experience teaching through a language that is not their mother tongue (L1) while teaching students who also speak English as their second or foreign language (L2). This is a qualitative case study where the method of data collection is interviewing research participants.

5.1. Research Questions

The following questions serve to guide this study:

- 1) What kind of language conceptions do the CLIL and EFL teachers have?
- 2) How is it for CLIL and EFL teachers to teach in English?
- 3) What kind of English competence qualifications should CLIL teachers have?
- 4) What do teachers find important in international subject teacher education?

5.2. Data Collection

The research data was collected through interviews of teachers. The interviews were recorded so that attention could be focused on the teachers and their answers, and not on taking down notes. Interviews were later transcribed to facilitate data analysis. The interviews were based on pre-formulated questions (Appendix 1) but some new questions also arose during the interviews, which is a feature in qualitative research. Thus, the interviews were semi-structured (cf. Cohen *et al.* 2000: 305) and not all teachers were asked exactly the same set of questions or in the same order. The interviews took place at the teachers'

schools, in quiet rooms in the morning or during skip lessons, and all took less than an hour to complete.

The data analysis does not divulge any private information that came evident about the teachers during the interviews. Also, the names of the schools will not be given, only the type of teaching that the teachers are involved in. This confidentiality is seen as an important part of a researcher's ethical work (cf. Cohen *et al.* 2000: 68).

5.3. Research Participants

Six teachers were interviewed for this study. Two of them work as English teachers (hereafter called EFL1 and EFL2), two are bilingual class teachers in elementary school (BCT1 and BCT2) and two are bilingual non-language subject teachers (BST1 and BST2). BCT1 works at a school that has a bilingual program that tests students for their language readiness skills in Finnish, but not in English, before being accepted to the program in grade one. BCT2 works as a class teacher in a program that tests students' skills in both Finnish and English before acceptance. One of the bilingual subject teachers works in a lower secondary school (BST1) and the other in an upper secondary school (BST2). The programs in both of these secondary schools are bilingual and the majority of the students have attended bilingual education already in the elementary school.

One of the English teachers (EFL1) and one of the bilingual class teachers (BCT1) have graduated from the English class teacher education program that was offered at the University of Helsinki in the mid 1990's (see Chapter 4). The other English teacher (EFL2) has English as her second teaching subject, the first being French. Teacher BCT2 is a qualified class teacher with English as one of her minors. I use the term CLIL teacher when referring to both the bilingual class teachers and bilingual subject teachers. Neither of the bilingual subject teachers has studied English philology at a university, which was of special interest in this study, as it can be expected that many CLIL teachers are qualified teachers in a non-language subject and learned English outside of

formal education. It is quite rare in Finland for teachers to have a subject combination that would include a language and a non-language subject as most of the teaching posts at schools do not have such combinations either.

6. Results

In this section of the thesis, I will explain the results that were drawn from the teacher interviews. The results are grouped under various themes that arose from the interviews and from previous research while keeping the research questions in mind.

6.1. Teachers' Conceptions of Language and EFL

This section will answer the research question:

1) What kind of language conceptions do the CLIL teachers and EFL teachers have?

I had requested to interview the teachers in English so that analyzing the interviews would be more straightforward and that I would be able to provide direct quotes of the teachers' comments without having to translate their speech. I had emphasized in my emails to the teachers that I would not examine the language they use, instead I was interested in their own conceptions of it. Excerpts from the transcriptions of the teacher interviews provided here show the natural flow of speaking; the transcriptions¹ are written without punctuation but include pauses, hesitations and repetitions, which are part of regular speech.

6.1.1. Speaking English

One of the teachers (BCT2) wanted to be interviewed in Finnish so that I would get the right impression of what she wanted to say:

BCT2: even in this situation there is no way that i could have spoken this much this colourfully so you would have gotten a completely different impression <QUOTE

¹ Descriptions for codes used in transcription:
 omitted speech [...];
 transcriber's comments <TEXT>;
 laughter @text@;
 unclear word (text);
 pause less than 1 sec , ; 1-second pause .

TRANSLATED>

Even this teacher said that she felt quite confident of her English in the classroom with the elementary school students:

BCT2: i would never go teach in upper secondary school and not in lower secondary school either with these language skills but elementary school i have to be able to manage <QUOTE TRANSLATED>

She had always felt very comfortable with her English skills and described how she had been complimented by her foreign friends. In this work as a bilingual class teacher, however, she has realized that her English skills need some improvement:

BCT2: i mean my foreign friends have always complimented me on my english , but i have to admit that this fall has made me humble because there are so many native speaker teachers here [...] i am humbled by the fact that a child knows better english than i do [...] now that i've seen these native speaker children too i've realized that okay i really have to like brush up on my english [...] it has been rusty <QUOTE TRANSLATED>

Teacher BCT1 has lived several years in English-speaking countries and this has obviously had a favourable effect on her English skills and the way she views her English competence:

BCT1: yeah for me just living abroad , you you sort of get a different feel to it . you don't feel embarrassed , for making @mistakes all and the rest of it@ you just know you have to cope

K²: english probably feels like your second language

BCT1: yeah . and it's it's become stronger obviously , just living abroad , it it feels more comfortable but i've felt really comfortable with it , during my studies too . that hasn't been the problem for me

Although teacher BST1 has not studied English as a subject at a university, he has lived several years in an English-speaking country while doing postgraduate studies. He also uses English extensively outside of work, so using English comes naturally to him, although he felt his English could be improved:

² K: Researcher as the interviewer

BST1: this way i'm using english quite a lot in , you know kind of like family occasions so . and i have friends who are english speakers [...] i'm not entirely happy with my own english , i do make mistakes a lot and things like that . and i i do use wrong terms in wrong places

Teacher BST2 has learned his English in the comprehensive and secondary schools and from having read academic texts at the university in English. He has, however, not studied English at the university and never lived in an English-speaking country, but acknowledges how a lot of his English has been learned from the media and, for example, computer games.

BST2: well i've always been interested in english culture a bit especially in british english culture like football and stuff like that and when i was thinking about that , where do all the words and structures come from but i think also because of computer games and and media and stuff like that but ah , i think most of it comes just in a way from academic school learning and then being involved with people . day-to-day basis in school [...]

Using English in his work has helped him to improve his English through regular practice and although he admits that he makes mistakes, he also sees his strength as a communicator:

BST2: well, i think i still think in finnish in the sense that this is of course my first language . and , but as the years go by and i kind of like use , english in , on day to day basis basically in the school in school , i think they are merging a little bit so . the threshold between the languages is not that big , but but i would still of course say that . ah i make mistakes , quite often and in a way , i have to use the dictionary especially when it comes to something more complicated and stuff like that but . . but it's pretty fluent i would say [...] the stuff that usually is needed in teachers' work is is verbal interaction in a way and i think , that's something i can do probably quite well

Being competent in terms of fluency is considered the most important factor in CLIL teachers' language skills (Marsh 2003) because things often have to be explained in various ways to increase students' comprehension, and the goal in CLIL teaching is to attain a natural conversational interaction between the teacher and students (Genesee 2003: 9). Even a careful preparation of a lesson plan cannot take into account spontaneous opportunities for conversations with students or, in the case of lacking language skills, missed opportunities for natural and necessary interaction with students. Students' spontaneous use of

language while learning content scaffolds their language learning (Coyle 2007: 553).

Teacher EFL2 teaches English and French as foreign languages. Her first foreign language is French and she does not feel as confident in English as she does in French:

EFL2: it's kind of an achilles' heel for me because as i said french is the foreign language i would say of course my first my mother tongue is finnish and then comes french . i feel at home when i'm speaking french and i feel like i can imitate parisian people but with english i'm one of those who don't have any real accent so i call it finnish

6.1.2. English Affecting Personality-Related Issues

In earlier research, some teachers have complained that using a language other than their mother tongue changes the way their personality shows due to lack of extensive English skills (cf. Marsh 1999). Teachers might, for example, worry about not being as funny in English as they are in Finnish. Some of the teachers in this study agreed with these earlier findings:

BCT2: for sure english strips off things , certainly . but because we have fifty percent <OF ENGLISH> i can compensate for it in the other classes <QUOTE TRANSLATED>

Teacher EFL1 admits that it would be difficult for her to teach another subject in English, although she felt confident with her English skills otherwise, and she brings up an interesting issue of language itself being teachers' most important tool:

EFL1: even with me i think it is if i if i should teach some other subj subject than than english in english it would be very difficult for me

K: okay . is it do you think it is that you wouldn't feel comfortable in your english or it is just that your brain would have to function harder in english or wh why do you say that

EFL1: mmm . because ah .. you'd . the the most important tool . for the teacher is . the language , anyway no , matter what subject you teach and .. so so if you're , the the most important tool you're using is somehow viable <SIC> . or is . is lacking . you're less comfortable than you would be in your native tongue . then .. then . one has to be really motivated to keep doing that

Teacher BST2 explains that in the beginning of his career as a CLIL teacher it was a little stressful to deal with sudden everyday situations in the classroom, such as class management, when he was not very familiar with all the terminology and vocabulary related to those kinds of situations:

BST2: i was just thinking about the idea that for example well being funny or , telling jokes or something like that probably it's not , not the worst thing but i think in a way . but something , that is not , directly , concerning the subject matter , for example if you have to deal with something like ah , disciplinary thing . or something and you'll have to stick to , ah english and all of a sudden , find words that are not actually about <YOUR TEACHING SUBJECT> at all . in a way , in a way typical events . during any lesson , which kind of like is , is not in the plan . especially in the beginning that was a little bit . well (excited) provoking i would say . hard to all , all of a sudden to find the right words and the right expressions and the idioms and so on

This experience is in accordance with the findings in an earlier study by Marsh (1999: 45). As is expected, using the L2 in everyday teaching gets easier and more natural with practice.

6.2. Teachers' Perceptions of Coping with English in Class

The EFL teachers face a different situation from the CLIL teachers, whether or not to use English throughout the lessons. The schools that have a CLIL program (bilingual, or non-language subject classes taught in English, or other forms) normally have a strategy of how much English to use during a certain class or when teaching a certain subject. For EFL classes, the matter is left up to the teachers to decide and varies a lot (see e.g. Kuoppala 2009b), as it is not specified in the Finnish national core curricula.

In its quest to answer the research question

2) How is it for CLIL and EFL teachers to teach in English?

this section will deal with various factors that influence the teachers' use of English in class: students' competence in English, official school policy for bilingual classes, attention paid on linguistic features, teaching methods and teachers' resources.

6.2.1. Using English in Teaching

Research has shown that the amount of target language that teachers use in their teaching makes a difference in students' development of their target language competence (see e.g. Turnbull 2001). Although nowadays EFL teachers are not the only source of English for students, it is important that teachers would show an example as English speakers and simultaneously encourage students to use the L2 themselves. The EFL teachers in this study seemed to base their decision on which language to use during lessons on the students' mastery of English. Teacher EFL1 had initially wanted to speak only English with her classes but in practice it proved too difficult for her because she felt so many students did not understand her in English because of their weak English skills:

- EFL1: ah well i speak more finnish than english i would say yes
 K: why do you do that
 EFL1: because the children they don't understand me [...] i started with the eight graders and i thought that okay i'm gonna speak english but they didn't half of them the weak ones they didn't understand anything about it so i had to repeat everything once again in finnish

Teacher EFL2 said she speaks only English in some of her classes but needs to speak Finnish in some others because of her students' level of English competence:

- K: during your classes . do you ah do you use only english when you speak to the children or do you use also finnish
 EFL2: it depends on group .. ah . at comprehensive school in finland it depends on area where you teach . some children they hardly understand a word when i meet them first time at the seventh grade and some speak fluent english . so as a teacher i must plan my lessons so that everyone can follow them . so in some groups usually , i say that we speak only english and you can answer me in finnish but always grammar rules i teach in finnish . that would be very unfair those for those who have troubles or who are not so good at languages . but there are some groups that i must also teach in finnish part of the time . otherwise they can't follow

For CLIL education, schools often have their own policies of when and how much of English to use. In practice, this does not always hold true. Teacher BCT2 is supposed to use only one language in one subject, but she says it is

difficult if you are supposed to use English but not all books are in that language. She teaches science in English and the text book is in Finnish:

BCT2: if the book was in english then the whole lesson would be run in english . it would be somehow more natural now that we have to speak 100 per cent english <IN ONE LESSON> but the book is in finnish it's a little strange . in maths everything is in english, even the verbal questions , so it's really easy to run the lesson <QUOTE TRANSLATED>

Also the fact of being new in this type of teaching is still taking time for teacher BCT2 to get accustomed to. In the current school, a teacher is supposed to use only English in certain subject lessons and only Finnish in another subject. In an earlier school where teacher BCT2 taught, the system was different and teachers were allowed to use 25% of Finnish in each lesson and English for the rest 75%.

BCT2: and probably that this is still new for me , i have to concentrate on this english and have to concentrate on not speaking finnish sometimes <QUOTE TRANSLATED>

Teacher BCT2 admits, however, that she does not hold onto the 100-per cent-English rule:

BCT2: but if i start to speak to the kids about class management issues then i do it in finnish , i suppose many here also do that in english [...] i do it in finnish so that i get all the rules clear [...] and i notice that things are understood better when i speak finnish [...] i notice when i start to speak finnish and really start to , then they listen noticeably better <QUOTE TRANSLATED>

It remained unclear, but would be interesting to find out, whether the reason for her students' varied attention levels to class management in different languages is the language used or perhaps changes in teacher BCT2's personality in Finnish versus English, or the teacher's own English skills. After all, teacher BCT2 finds her students' English skills excellent and was more concerned of the level of their language skills in Finnish:

BCT2: i am amazed at the way they can use that english . . they are extremely talented in it . they don't understand at all of how talented they are . . but then at the same time i am kind of like . . especially at those whose both parents are finnish especially at those families i am so enraged , how they have let their finnish get so poor . . [...] so how can it be that the child doesn't understand idioms and words in finnish <QUOTE TRANSLATED>

In practice, sometimes the question of whether or not to use only one language in one lesson in CLIL education – regardless of the official requirement of the school – is determined by the English competence that the students possess, which was the case in the EFL classes as well:

- K: okay so in one class . or during one lesson , you would speak both finnish and english
- BCT1: . at the worst case yeah
- K: okay . so you consider that bad
- BCT1: i consider . yeah i do , i do see , a lot of problems in it . i would rather , as a teacher i would rather speak one language
- K: to the like to particular students
- BCT1: to to the kids in general i would rather speak one language [...] . yeah i do see that as a problem coz with the kids that would need that extra encouragement of of putting the extra effort . . and they know that you understand them anyway . . they just yeah , they don't they don't put the extra effort in . . and i do see as you said , sort of an. an identity problem too because , i'd like to identify as , one-language , teacher more

Teacher BCT1 would have preferred to use only English with her students so that they would have identified her as an English-speaker and would have been encouraged and challenged to speak only English back to her. Perhaps if she would hold onto her determination to speak only English, her students would not try to “take the easy way out” and would also be challenged to try harder and eventually acquire stronger English skills naturally. Nixon (1997: 155) agrees that there is a natural tendency to rely on mother tongue if use of L2 is not encouraged.

Sometimes the parents of some students have expressed their concern for the children not learning as much as they should when teaching is completely in English and have asked the teacher to use Finnish:

- BCT1: even in in these math lessons i would i would first do the whole thing in english . . and then , i'd go , through it all again in finnish . just briefly , to say the idea ah and probably , just ask them to write @some of the finnish words@ in their english mathbook . just to make sure that they understand because it came up with , with some emails from the parents , or they would bring up and say that hey listen my kid doesn't understand anything what's happening in the math lesson can you . sort of review , a little bit of it in english
- K: or in finnish
- BCT1: sorry in finnish . and and . the parents themselves wouldn't have the ability to . to help them out

The danger here is, however, that the students wait until the teacher switches the language to their mother tongue and they ignore the first explanation attempts in English (Wong-Fillmore 1985: 35; Baker 2006: 234).

Teacher BST1 makes a conscious choice of using only English with his students, both in and outside class. He has experienced that students follow the example of speaking only English back to the teacher when the teachers themselves are strict about it:

- K: okay do you use only english during your classes or do so sometimes , uh revert back to finnish
- BST1: uhh . i try to avoid it as , much as possible . i . . for example with , with my own class , i . ev every , this kind of , when i have to inform them about something events related to what we're doing , other things what we do about , events and and celebrations what we have i do . i give them detention in @english and things like that@
- K: alright so even class management is then
- BST1: that's right , and when i see them on the corridor . i try always to speak english
- K: and do they speak english back to you
- BST1: they do . they learn it you know from the first day , of the seventh grade [...] i have noticed that when , when you start to speak in english from the very first moment when you see those new seventh graders and when you've done it for two years or eventually more than three years then it's , it's kind of normal thing to do . and sometimes my old students uh when i see them on the street in helsinki city center , they start like automatically , to speak @in english@ to me although i haven't seen them for three years or so it's quite funny

Teacher BST1's students have identified him as an English-speaker and thus automatically use English themselves when they meet. It can, however, be of benefit to have a common mother tongue with the students and there are moments when its use is justified:

- BST1: if there's something very sensitive like there's been cases , cases of like ah bullying or something , or or a student has some , some personal problems and it's clearly difficult, for him or her to talk about that issue in , in english . then i change the language of course to , to the first language of that person

According to some experts (see e.g. Baker 2006: 294), the mother tongue should only have a support function and not be a second medium of language in a CLIL lesson, although nurture and development of students' mother tongue is, of course, important in other lessons. In the Finnish context, however, it is usually found important for students to learn also the Finnish concepts in, for

example, biology and history, because we do after all live in Finland. Often students have Finnish text books where they read the concepts in Finnish and teachers provide their own material in English. Although he does not think switching from English to Finnish is very typical in his lessons, teacher BST2 explains his use of Finnish as a support:

BST2: i try to be kind of like . sensitive to the moment in a way . it's it's very much determined that who are the students in the classroom and what is the . what is the course all about [...] usually it's kind of like the complexity , of the phenomenon , that we're discussing or some technical , terms or , or something like that

For a bilingual class or subject teacher to have fluent English skills is not enough, but there is a lot of specialized vocabulary related to the content being taught that has to be learned. Elementary school teachers teach all different subjects so they need to acquire a large vocabulary from diverse fields. Teachers BCT1 and BCT2 elaborated on this issue:

BCT1: for me the challenge has been more of , of just really having all . all the subject , vocabulary in english . . and being a primary teacher , because you have to have to teach all the subjects , in english

BCT2: and then the vocabulary , if i take the cogwheel and friction , they certainly haven't belonged to my @active vocabulary@ so you truly have to think of what i'm supposed to teach now , friction . <QUOTE TRANSLATED>

Subject teachers in lower and upper secondary schools go deeper into the subjects, thus they need to learn a larger vocabulary in their own field, especially in mathematical subjects. However, according to Nikula & Marsh (1997: 45) subjects in the humanities require mainly strong general language skills because concepts are abstract and difficult to illustrate and describe. Also, as both the bilingual subject teachers explained, sometimes the most difficult things to discuss in English are something very particular to the Finnish life and society:

BST1: in <MY SUBJECT> especially when we're not studying you know uh , british society or american society but the finnish system , it makes it pretty hard to explain every kind of , uh , phenomena which are like particular to our society and but i try to improve my skills

BST2: so it must be sometimes for example if it's related to let's say . something typically finnish . then of course might in a way think that this should now be discussed in finnish or , or . . but those are very very rare moments really

6.2.2. Focusing on Form and Vocabulary

CLIL teachers have a dual-focus in their teaching. The primary focus is on teaching content matter but increasing students' awareness of the linguistic features, such as vocabulary and form, is also found important (Marsland 1997: 36). Paying attention to vocabulary has a more direct influence on learning content matter but three of the CLIL teachers in this study mentioned that they also pay attention to form, some more than others. In regular EFL classes students in general have a lesser command of English than students who also study content through English. Giving students opportunities to use English in oral communication practices in an EFL class is nonetheless essential for their language learning.

The EFL teachers were asked how they divide time between focusing on form and having communication exercises and whether or not they correct students' mistakes. Both English teachers EFL1 and EFL2 encourage their students to practice speaking during communication exercises and do not correct their students' mistakes in oral production:

- EFL2: right but what i do is when it's about talking i want to encourage them to use the language so i tell them forehead <SIC> this is there are no grades about it i don't give any grades it's just you do your best and i i don't correct them at all . but when it's writing i tell them it's more important because then you can see it
- EFL1: not always . if we have some communication . exercises or like . then i don't correct the . ah form .. i let them just produce something . it's good to get their brains going so to say

However, teacher EFL1 stressed the importance of both grammar and vocabulary in speaking:

- EFL1: but the thing is that if they don't have grammar . they cannot speak freely . they cannot produce anything produce anything
- K: do you think that's because if they think that if i don't know how to say it correctly i'm not gonna say anything or
- EFL1: no they just can't . they don't they try to they think . i want to say this but they don't have they have neither vocabulary nor grammar to produce anything .. it would be the same if i asked you to speak in hindi . please speak speak freely .. yeah don't pay attention to the grammar . and vocabulary neither

Teacher EFL2, on the other hand, emphasized that it should be kept in mind that it is more important to be understood and understand others, instead of focusing on perfect grammar and pronunciation. She sees language teachers divided into two groups: grammar and vocabulary oriented, and communication oriented teachers. Teacher EFL2 considers herself as one in the latter group:

EFL2: i speak fenglish but ah. nowadays i'm quite comfortable with it because i'm telling myself that is it . if it's sort of lingua franca isn't it the main thing that we understand each other . not the correct pronunciation . or eh. that you know all the grammar rules by heart . now i'm talking about students . i know them by heart nowadays because i teach them every day

Three of the CLIL and bilingual class teachers paid attention to form regularly. Teacher BCT2 said she rarely needs to pay attention to form in the students' spoken English but more so in their written work:

BCT2: i don't .. well in biology a thing came up like there was leaf so then i asked if they understood that this is singular and plural but very little [...] these kids are very good and they just naturally know the english . all third person s's . you don't need to tell them because it just comes out right [...] well in writing when they produce text then i have to . it is not so much in grammar but in words . they can't write words . but never in speech because they speak such good english <QUOTE TRANSLATED>

Teacher BCT1 had noticed that her students' English skills were not very strong and stated that it is important to help the students with the proper way of saying and writing things because they often prove difficult for her students:

BCT1: you'd have to pay a lot of attention to the concept but also the way of saying things because , the the the kids wouldn't have the ability to make up . correct sentences . sometimes of just telling the answers . ah in a correct way , so you'd have, you'd have'em both

Teacher BST1 also explained how he wants to support the students' learning of English:

BST1: and of course when i'm teaching in english i , i got to explain the vocabulary and and things like that . i got to explain some some terms and definitions of them and , ahh but i think they're doing fine , because , most of the students have and it's getting better and better , they have a very good background of using english [...] i try to give them also advice how to , how to say things like academically correctly and , and how to , and how to improve . especially when we study <THIS SUBJECT> how to , how to use correct terms and what would be a better word for , for saying this to make you , understood correctly and and

things like that [...] yeah i try to , also to support their learning of of english language

He rarely corrects students' mistakes in front of the classroom because he has noticed how it had discouraged some students from speaking in class, but occasionally if there is need, he does so privately:

BST1: hmm . sometimes . but i , i don't do it that much because , i have noticed that it discourages some people ah , with some students it's fine but if they are , a little bit shy or something it may , like , shut them up , really [...] it's usually when i when i say something about like , about grammar issues i try to do it like , face to face

Because of not having formal training in English, teacher BST2 says he does not pay attention to grammatical issues:

K: [...] you don't focus on form , that you don't focus on the grammar
BST2: no . i wouldn't find being competent , really , that way , that i would . yeah

According to some experts (e.g. Marsh 1999: 44), material made by a teacher not specialized in the foreign language might contain various linguistic errors that can have a harmful effect on students' learning of proper spelling of the core concepts. Perhaps this is a bigger problem with younger students. Older students might be more knowledgeable and eager to point out any possible mistakes to the teacher. Teacher BST2 explains that his students sometimes correct his mistakes, which he finds quite important, because it also shows that they are paying attention in class.

BST2: i wouldn't correct them usually . they correct me . not usually the spoken , but the written <LAUGHTER> and i think that's something that might happen also when if it , with the finnish thing , if there's for example , er a power point slide or something where there's a grammatical or typing mistakes they usually , politely , correct me . i find that very important actually

In earlier research, this element of "learning together" has been found to have a positive effect on the class environment (Nikula & Marsh 1997: 48).

Marsland argues (1997: 36) that CLIL teachers should pay attention to linguistic features in order to actively encourage students' L2 acquisition. De Graaff *et al.* (2007: 603), however, question whether this is possible for those CLIL teachers who do not have a background in language pedagogy. A lot of the CLIL

teachers in Finland and elsewhere in Europe do not have formal education in English even if they are fluent in speaking English (Nikula 2005: 28; European Commission 2006). The bilingual subject teachers in this study reminded, however, that students in Finland also attend English language classes where the emphasis of learning is on the language itself:

BST1: and of course because they have a very good tuition in our school in english language (itself) it's . many . many of them do write uh amazingly good , english although not speaking at home or , or something like that

6.2.3. English Affecting Teaching Methods

When teaching in a language that is not the students' first language, comprehension is necessarily not as automatic (see e.g. Marsland 1997). Thus, it is considered important to check for students' understanding of the taught content. Teachers need fluent English skills in order to be able to explain things in diverse ways instead of reverting back to Finnish. Teacher BST1 makes a conscious effort in encouraging students to ask for clarification without switching language:

BST1: please interrupt me if you don't understand something it's very important , that you don't just copy notes . but you ask if you don't understand something , and then i explain . but again what i try to avoid , is to say , the sentence , in finnish , i try to explain it in other words in english

Having two languages in a lesson can sometimes also complicate things. The need for Finnish can, of course, depend on the students' English competence:

BCT1: sometimes i feel with with , the two languages you sort of , just try to make sense of it and make sure that everyone understands and , okay this is , this is the word in english and this is . did you , did you all know what i'm saying and . it's it's sort of a more . . . at least with science i i found it , pretty problematic . it's a bit of a puzzle , trying to , to build it up so that everyone would really . really follow , what's happening . . [...] so it really , it really gives you a lot of challenge

The two bilingual class teachers said that progress during lessons is slower because things have to be gone through twice and therefore some things have to be left out.

BCT2: this principal told us to take into account that teaching is slower that some of the things in the text book can't be dealt with <QUOTE TRANSLATED>

- K: so you have to choose like the most important themes
 BCT2: you have to drop something out , yes it is quite slow , in a way things are gone through twice <QUOTE TRANSLATED>

The bilingual class teachers in elementary school seemed to have more problems in the lessons because of students who do not possess strong language skills compared to the bilingual subject teachers in lower and upper secondary school. The secondary school students have of course studied in English longer, so their English skills have developed over the years. In the elementary school, the teachers find that it is the students' language skills that often cause the need to go through things repeatedly, or even in Finnish. Teacher BCT1 found her students' weakness in written English, for teacher BCT2 it was also in spoken English. Sometimes a teacher needs to do "detective work" to find out whether the reason for a student in not understanding something is due to the language or the topic of discussion:

- BST2: well if it's not evident , if it's not kind of like that they don't understand the concept or a word , er . then , you have to be a detective there and start in a way inquiring into it , but i would say that typically in the subject that i'm teaching , in a way . the fact that something is difficult , it is the point actually , kind of like showing that well it is difficult and it is not in a way easy to understand or explain

Repetition is something that is frequently reported as one of the main differences in CLIL teaching methods compared to education in mother tongue (e.g. Nikula & Marsh 1997: 56; Met 2003: 168; Coonan 2007: 640). By repeating a matter by reformulating it, students get more chances in learning and absorbing the information.

Three of the teachers had experienced problems with students who lack a strong mother tongue and thus have difficulty in understanding more complicated things or phenomena.

- BST2: the worst situation is with . with some children who don't seem to have any first language at all , so that they've been travelling abroad a lot and they've been in in . many different , linguistic climates and in a way when they then return to finland if they've been finnish originally then their finnish is poor their english is quite poor . and then there's also a third , fourth language they're studying so . in those situations are quite complicated really

A good command of the first language is considered important for foreign language learning. Research has shown that a good foundation in the student's mother tongue is a solid base upon which to build foreign language learning (Lightbown & Spada 2006: 186). In these elementary schools that the interviewed teachers work, students are tested for their linguistic readiness. The entrance tests help to weed out children who might possibly have learning problems or difficulties with language. According to research, CLIL students have performed well or even better than peers in learning both language and content (e.g. Järvinen 1999, Laitinen 2001, Jäppinen 2003). Of course, these tests do not always pick out children with possible weaknesses; the teachers in this study had experienced that some students who lack strong mother tongue skills can develop learning problems.

BCT2: they are halflingual in both languages . i think that you need to have that one language strong as a foundation and then you start teaching them english . so these kids are halflingual <QUOTE TRANSLATED>

Teacher EFL1 had taught in bilingual education before and she had similar experiences of some students who spoke more than one language but none of them well:

EFL1: actually it's . it has more to do with the the cognitive skills than the language .. the talent . if the if the kids have the talent to do that bilingually . because they might become halflingual if they . have some . their brain it's not functioning .
 K: did you ever notice problems like that with your students
 EFL1: yes yes yes . absolutely. some of them had even three languages . and they don't speak any of them properly

Personally, I find it perplexing if parents do not transfer their child into a class taught in the child's mother tongue if they realize that the child is having recurring problems in understanding lessons taught in English and is not able to follow the teaching. It is also not fair for the other students who possess good English skills that they are denied the opportunity to be in a completely English environment if that is what the school policy is for a particular class. The more Finnish a teacher speaks in class, the more Finnish the students are also prone to use themselves. If a student lacks strong skills in his or her mother language, it would also be sensible to strengthen these skills by having the child educated

in that language. As Marsh (1999: 82) states, teaching in an L2 should not be done at the expense of the development of a child's mother tongue. Teacher EFL2 has noticed that sometimes parents' expectations for their children are too high and they are not always willing to see what is best for the children:

EFL2: i think when parents choose something different from the mainstream so they are . are ready to . encourage and help their children and mainly it's those . students are very motivated but sometimes it's parents' choice they have . expectations for their children's future and it's so sad to see . small children who have really difficulties with languages learning difficulties . and their parents sort of . force them to continue . their studies even though they have great difficulties and that's a sad thing

In CLIL education in Finland, teachers do not often have English language text books to offer for the students. Not having proper text books makes a difference in teachers' teaching methods. The problem of accumulating teaching material is dealt with in the next section, but the reality of dealing without ready-made English material was elaborated by all the bilingual teachers in this study but not all considered it a huge continual problem. Teacher BST1 explained how the lack of an English text book affects his lessons:

BST1: um , yeah yeah the , the lessons are different , i suppose , there's not that much like this traditional , that read from page 26 to 31 and do the exercises , from one to seven . . you cannot do that because you don't @have the text book@

K: that's right yeah

BST1: you got to ah . ah , talk to them . discuss with them and , make them to take down notes and and things like that and then do exercises on the basis of , you know some , original documents and and things like that

He emphasized how his teaching includes a lot of discussions with the students and as a teacher it requires being more creative. However, he did not feel that teaching in English would be any more difficult for him than teaching in Finnish. Teacher BST2 agreed:

BST2: . . it's not a big deal really . whatever the language is , that sometimes you could say that there are some some . some specific subjects or issues that i sometimes find a little more complicated to discuss , in english , but usually there's no big difference at all

According to research (e.g. Nikula & Marsh 1997; Coonan 2007; de Graaff *et al.* 2007), CLIL teachers need to use more demonstrative language in L2 when

explaining matters to students. Teacher BST2 did not agree with this being a teaching method purely for CLIL teaching but a pedagogical strategy and choice. He felt, however, that English creates possibilities for applying different teaching methods because of access to English material, for example, on the Internet:

- BST2: when it comes to methods of teaching , i think once again i think english just is kind of like a . . kind of like a , yeah enables or in a a way makes , creates possibilities for for creating different kinds of learning environments or . applying different kinds of methods or approaches
- K: yeah . so , do you think that because of the language you'd have to be more demonstrative in , you know in explaining things
- BST2: hmm . i wouldn't say so . well i tried to in a way also emphasize visualization but that's not because , the bilingual aspect , it's just because it's more like pedagogical thing in a way , that i think that in a way , having , having visual cues is important . no matter what the language is

Teacher BST1 has sometimes translated his English material into Finnish if he has taught a class in the mother tongue. Using material besides a ready-made book can help make lessons more interesting and something out of the ordinary for the students.

- BST1: what i've actually done uh for a couple of times is that when i've been teaching the the , the finnish language lessons i've translated my materials into finnish and done the same thing in finnish and it works fine . . and at least the students say so but , they have liked them

Teacher BST1's experience has been positive, and his teaching style has worked well both in English and Finnish. This example concurs with teacher BST2's opinion that a teaching method does not necessarily depend on the language used but teachers' own teaching style.

6.3. Teachers' Resources

For mainstream education teachers in Finland, having proper text books for each subject is quite self-evident. Sometimes complaints can be heard of having to use the same books for several years in a row so the books look worn-out. For teachers teaching in a foreign language, the problems with materials are of very different kind: often teachers have no ready-made material but instead have to spend countless hours searching for some or for making up

their own material. Sometimes CLIL teachers benefit from cooperation with EFL or native-speaker teachers and can use them as a resource.

6.3.1. Collecting Teaching Materials in English

Even when an experienced teacher begins to teach CLIL classes, it can take several hours of preparations for one lesson (Marsh 1999: 44). Teachers often have to search for suitable teaching material because ready-made books are not available. In Finland the reason can be, for example, that English language books available in the United States or Great-Britain do not correspond to the curricular requirements set by the Ministry of Education. In practice, this often means that teachers gather their own material from their own sources or, for example, from the Internet. Marsh (1999: 56) says that materials made by CLIL “teachers themselves should be of a very high L2 standard.”

Although teacher BCT1 has found that teaching in English is sometimes slower, a greater problem is to know what to choose to teach of all the Finnish material and then make up or find suitable English material:

BCT1: and and the problem also is is , ahm that it, it has not been very well . ah . instructed . . what to teach in english and what not . it's really left , up to the teacher a lot . . so . . um , you sort of , you sort of have to go through so much work . you first see what's in there to teach . and then you sort of see what of these would i teach in english and what not

She felt that teachers are left with too much responsibility on the decisions and it takes a lot of extra work from the teachers. The Finnish national core curricula does not give any clear guidelines for arranging teaching in English either. CLIL teachers have to put a great amount of time and effort into gathering their own materials. In teaching content, the national core curricula (Finnish National Board of Education 2003; 2004) must be adhered to, thus, for example a foreign history textbook might not be suitable. Rasinen (2006) calls for development of core curriculum work for the success of CLIL education. If criteria for a bilingual syllabus was gathered and determined centrally, it would ease the burden on CLIL teachers to do the job individually.

It seems that the problem of having to devote a great amount of time for material existed when CLIL education was first started in Finland (e.g. Nikula & Marsh 1997) and it has persisted elsewhere in Europe as well (e.g. Coonan 2007), and little advancement has been made in improvements or cooperation between teachers and schools. One positive exception is a mathematics text book that is now available in English for the elementary school grades from the Finnish publisher WSOY (<http://www.wsoyoppimateriaalit.fi/oppi/?aste=AA#>). Teacher BCT2 has only one of her text books in English, the mathematics text book, but some of the material in the other subjects has to be used either in Finnish or made up or collected on her own:

BCT2: there are some copies of material made by previous teachers , yeah , but a lot of it you have to make up on your own [...] it's a bit corny that first we read this friction chapter in finnish and then i'm supposed to run the lesson in english
<QUOTE TRANSLATED>

Teacher BCT1 finds the lack of suitable material problematic and the job of looking for it enormous, as well as the schools lacking a system of teachers sharing material unfortunate:

BCT1: a huge amount of work . . yeah i think this might vary from school to school but at least at <SCHOOL NAME> where i've been , the materials are just poor . and and for teachers who . do the material themselves . they just wouldn't . the system doesn't work that you would just sort of . give them to the others and , you know that it would work as a sort of a common library . you know , it's it's so funny every year you make these . piles . of papers about human biology and
K: and maybe there would be another teacher who would have good material for you to use
BCT1: at the worst case the teacher would tell me i'm not giving them to you i've done such a , big job myself
K: [...] what would be an incentive for teachers to share work
BCT1: yeah i don't know it's. maybe it should be made @compulsory@ <LAUGHTER> . . i don't know , but i think it , really , at least , the experience that i've had it's it's been one of the biggest problems really [...] so much work . it really . it really kills you

Teacher BST1 is of the same opinion that accumulating material is a lot of work and that the material that is available does not meet all the requirements in the Finnish core curriculum:

BST1: ahh , i use . mostly , ninety percent english material , but that's a huge problem . it took years to , to get all that together and we still don't have proper text

books . for the eight graders i'm using the english <TEXT BOOK> which is for secondary students but of course it doesn't cover the whole finnish curriculum , which is a problem . but then i have written quite a bit material myself and and then gathered bits and pieces from , from the net and from various books and and so on yeah

For subject teachers, the job of collecting material may be slightly easier as they often teach only one or two different subjects at different grade levels. Class teachers can teach various subjects to the same group of students through three or four years in the elementary school and they need different material for each grade level. Once subject teachers have taught for a few years and worked at collecting their material, they only need to update the material, and thus the burden of accumulating enough material is not as great any longer. Teacher BST1 makes interesting points in the matter of sharing teaching material with other teachers. For one, it is difficult because there are not so many schools offering CLIL education in the lower or upper secondary school levels in Finland. Each school may have different subjects taught in English partially based on the availability of suitable teachers. Each teacher also has his or her own style of teaching and can require and use material differently:

BST1: on the other other hand all , in all that material there's , they are like my lessons and that's like my personal approach to the topic , so basically if , if i would hand some , some of these transparent , films or anything to to some other teacher they , wouldn't make much sense to the person , because there's you know my lectures behind that , that material they're all connected to the stuff which i speak to the , students in the classroom so . of course if there's some like ah , photocopies of some some , like documents [...] and that would be , of course , handy , to to share with other people and and so on

Coonan (2007: 625) argues that the job of searching for teaching materials requires such professional competences that CLIL teachers without linguistic expertise may not have because the work has to be done in the L2. Teacher BST1 acknowledges that having a background as a researcher is an asset in collecting material:

BST1: with getting the materials , i think that i've been trained as a researcher it's , it's been mostly helpful

There is a lot of material available for example on the Internet, and although it is important to have the material challenging enough for students, it is yet

important to match the level of language with that of the students' skills (Nikula & Marsh 1997: 49). Teacher BST2 admitted that finding material was time-consuming in the beginning, but he feels using English as teaching language is beneficial and an asset in many ways because it creates new learning environments and students can, for example, use English websites for searching for information:

- BST1: it's an asset in my opinion in a way , it kind of like enables many things
 K: like , what kind of things
 BST1: like use of resources materials it's , much much more , variety and opportunities when you can also , expect that students can , read english text and they can , when they browse the net for example , or look for information they can use english website and so forth

6.3.2. CLIL Teachers' Cooperation with EFL and Native Speaker Teachers

Traditionally, teaching is not viewed as team work amongst teachers. Teachers work in their own classrooms with their own group of students with their own lesson plans, and little cooperation has existed between teachers. In CLIL literature (see e.g. Mustaparta & Tella 1997: 48; Marsh 1999: 48), cooperation between EFL and CLIL teachers is seen as a definite benefit to the success of CLIL education and it is highly recommended. In practice, however, there does not always seem to be much cooperation or team work between teachers. It is understandable for the sake of time constraints:

- K: should there be cooperation between english teachers and clil teachers
 EFL2: there should definitely there should
 K: and even if it's not a clil class but .
 EFL2: i think it's not a question of interest it's more like nowadays as we are hands full of work . so to find that time to do something together i i guess that's the point

Teacher BCT2 receives some help from other teachers, and she says that the school's native-speaker teachers are used as a resource for checking proper pronunciation and terms of English expressions:

- BCT2: those native speakers . do i say this thing this way or that way , that's where we always check that things would go right <QUOTE TRANSLATED>

If there were cooperation between teachers, then both parties should feel that they benefit from the effort, or the school should have a certain amount of work

hours dedicated for the EFL or native speaker teachers, for example, for translating material so that they are not exploited for their expertise or that they do not feel frequent requests for help as nuisance. Teacher BST1 explained that it was partially for the worry of extra work for the other teachers that he has not consulted the native speakers at his school for terminology and other linguistic issues:

BST2: i've thought about that but then again i think it would be just extra labour for them i , i don't want to kind of like . . burden them or give them any extra work . yeah i've thought about it but i haven't done it

He also told, however, that he does not feel that he would really need or see any real benefit in consulting the native speakers as any material gets tested in class with the students and is revised or rejected if need be:

K: or would there be any value for you
 BST2: could be in some situations but then again . hmm . . . i'm quite confident , and i believe also in a way , most of the material that i have produced they are already . used many times and in a way stuff that doesn't work has been rejected and stuff that is incorrect has been corrected and so on

Teacher BST1 is the only teacher in this study who cooperates a lot on a regular basis with a native speaker teacher. He has a native English speaker as a colleague teaching at the same school. In addition to getting confirmation on proper terminology, they also share ideas about teaching in general and their team work is beneficial for both:

BST1: well i have almost , if not daily , three times a week discussions with with our , english teacher and uh , sometimes we talk about , well . how to . how to say something about , particular to finnish society how to explain that in english . you know technical issues related to english language and and it's , it's of course great help , help to me and . but then we , we talk about , generally about teaching techniques and things like that , we we do have lots of @cooperation@

6.4. Language Skill Requirements for CLIL Teachers?

English is no longer the property of only the native speakers in Britain, North America or Australia. Millions of people worldwide speak English as a lingua franca and do not necessarily even try to adhere to the traditional English rules in pronunciation and grammar etc. In Finnish schools, English is still taught according to the native speaker rules and although communicative competence

has emerged as the main objective (CEF 2001; Finnish National Board of Education 2004), I wanted to find out what teachers themselves hold as the ideal example for English or if they find it important.

This section will answer the research question:

3) What kind of English competence qualifications should CLIL teachers have?

Five of the teachers thought that showing a good example to students is important.

BCT2: i have to say that of course it sounds nice if you sound like a native speaker . that when i listen to a minister on tv and it's like my finnish english then it does hurt your ears . of course i would wish myself as beautiful pronunciation as possible [...] so i do think that it would be great to speak beautiful english , but then on the other hand i encourage <STUDENTS> when thinking of the regular classes that all english is okay , that the english people don't laugh <QUOTE TRANSLATED>

However, it is difficult to know where to draw the line: what kind of English is good enough for a teacher to have or what kind of requirements should there be for CLIL teachers. One teacher (EFL2) thought that it should be more important for a subject teacher to be a specialist in his or her own field and questioned the ideal of native-sounding English:

EFL2: that isn't it more important that those teachers are specialists in their own subject . so students get right the . ah content what they are studying . is it really so important if the pronunciation or structure sentence structure is correct is it so important i'm not sure

Teacher BST2 thought that having a standard for CLIL teacher's language competence would be good but he did not think that adhering to strict native-standard rules would be necessary:

K: what do you think like for clil teachers . ah , do you think there should be a standard of how good english they speak
 BST2: actually i think that would be a good idea but then again . once again practical problems probably would arise
 [...]
 K: so what do you think do you still think that we should adhere to the native standards or , do you think it's fine which ever way you speak
 BST2: <LAUGHTER> i think of the latter of course because if if all of a sudden i would have to pay more attention , to some specific dogmatic rules conserning the

- english language i would be in . difficulties there , because i know quite well that , that ah , i i have big gaps there
- K: your english sounds very good
- BST2: but especially in written form and . especially when i have to display something that i have written or in a way if i'm reading their essays and i would have to pay attention more to things like that . it would be much much more work . i'd have to really really study [...]

Also, there is obviously the question of simply not being a native speaker of English and as is well documented (e.g. Lightbown & Spada 2006: 69–70), learning native-sounding pronunciation is one of the hardest things to acquire in a foreign language. Also, there are many different native accents of English and different attitudes towards them. As teacher BCT1 explains, a teacher is an example to the students, and although she thinks it would be best if all CLIL teachers had a native-sounding accent, it is not possible for all:

- BCT1: i think it's better to do your best than not to , not to do it
- K: well what do you think like for teachers that are teaching in english . how good should their english be
- BCT1: that is a hard one . that is a hard one because you think you are there as an example to the kids and . um . yeah it is , i don't know , i don't know
- K: what do you think yourself
- BCT1: i mean of of course it would be better if everyone would have a . sort of a native sounding accent . . of course that would be a lot better than having a funny finnish accent . . ahm . but then . . if if the option is not , not having the english at all . i think it's it's better to have that something and then again i think . that a lot of people just can't help it . it's just the way they speak or they view language or hear it and all the rest you can't really force anyone . . to do it in a different way . but then again where , where does the whats what sort of requirements should we then have . like if i'm accused of having , having a mid-atlantic accent would i would i be , you know good enough to , to , give an example to the kids

Teacher BST1 brings up the issue of teachers needing to update their skills in the content matter that they are teaching. Further education can also be useful for teachers teaching in English:

- BST1: okay confidence is , is like a starting point . then i suppose if you're not that . . if you don't feel that confident with your english , you can study it , and you can improve your skills for sure , and that's , i i suppose teachers should like update . like in , in , in the real . uh well in the subject what they're doing they should update their skills all the time , and and it applies , i try to do it

Many CLIL teachers who are specialized in their teaching subject do not have formal qualifications for teaching in English. Sometimes the request to teach in English comes from the school. Two of the teachers (EFL2 and BCT2) felt it was a sign of those teachers' courage and confidence to teach in a language that they had not studied:

EFL2: that i don't feel that i'm really up to it . or it would be a lot of work for me . i could but i should prepare those lessons so carefully . so there is a pressure as you mentioned is there any harm then i would feel that . so i must sort of admire those teachers who don't feel like that

BCT2: but i do take my hat off to those teachers who dare to go for it . maybe it is not quite right for the students when the english is not perfect <QUOTE TRANSLATED>

None of the teachers in this study knew that the government has actually set language qualification standards for teachers teaching in a foreign language (see Chapter 3.2.). However, one of the teachers (EFL2) knew other teachers who had taken the general language test. The decree for CLIL teachers' language competence was stipulated already in 1999, but not all schools or principals or teachers themselves seem to be aware of it. All of the four CLIL teachers had been hired into their posts after the language competence requirement took effect.

Two of the teachers (EFL1 and BCT1) in this study thought that the teachers teaching in English should have formal English education. Teacher EFL1 thought CLIL teachers should not only be qualified in English but also be bilingual.

EFL1: hhh well that person should be really good at both and it's very difficult to find competent mathematics teachers as such even . so there absolutely it would be very good if one is capable of do that of doing that

K: but you think they should have then . do you think that they should have formal english education

EFL1: I think they should have a lot of english education in order to be able to do that [...] yes because you're trying to you're not only trying to teach some simple things but you're trying to ah get across some bigger issues as as well and if , you should be bilingual to do that in my opinion

K: [...] do you think the teachers should have formal education in english

BCT1: yes, definitely . yes yeah

Teacher BCT2 thought that a teacher's language skills should be tested, possibly by the principal of a school, and that would be adequate:

BCT2: i think the teachers' english should be checked , whether they can speak it and write it . so if i was a principal , that's what i would do , i'd test if the teacher can teach and that would be enough for me , i wouldn't go after any qualifications
<QUOTE TRANSLATED>

As many schools (or their principals) appear to be unaware of the decree on CLIL teachers' language skills, until now it has been left up to principals to determine whether a teacher's English is good enough to teach a CLIL class. However, who would determine the principals' competence in assessing teachers' language competence? And which criteria have principals been using until now in determining their teachers' language competence? There is no guarantee that a principal is a language expert. Teacher BCT2 shared her experience of her job interview for the current job:

BCT2: then the other interviewer said that you have quite a strong finnish accent then i was like what , i've always been complimented , always <QUOTE TRANSLATED>

Teacher BST2, on the other hand, was surprised that his English competence was not checked in any way when he was interviewed for his position:

BST2: i was a bit surprised that no one really , there was just this very formal job interview and that's it

Both the bilingual subject teachers without formal English education also emphasized how it is up to the teachers themselves to take charge of their English skills:

BST1: i've just taken . um several <ENGLISH> courses , at a language center

K: okay

BST1: well basically as many as they can offer

Jäppinen (2004: 200) emphasizes how a CLIL teacher's genuine interest in the teaching language and commitment to lifelong learning of the language are necessary factors of successful CLIL teaching. Teachers' self-reflection is an important aspect of this so that they can honestly consider their own abilities and actively enhance their professional competence.

Careful planning of CLIL lessons has been found to be a key to success according to other teacher interviews (Coonan 2007: 637). Teacher BST2 has made certain to prepare his classes well and described how it was vital for the success of his lessons, particularly in the beginning of his career as a CLIL teacher:

BST2: but of course i must say that i've been self-critical in this matter i've tried to in a way prepare myself very well for for all the lessons , especially in the beginning it was vital because i knew quite well that if i , didn't kind of like go deep into it , i would be in deep , big problems so , so of course it's probably required a little bit more attention to the whole thing

Although teacher BST2 has considered the notion of harming students' English development because of sometimes having imperfect grammar, he questions whether it really makes any difference in the end, and whether it is an exaggeration that students would be harmed by a teacher who does not speak native-level English.

K: do you think that it can have an effect on the kids' language skills if there's . like if you would write things wrong on the board or

BST2: yeah i have definitely thought about that , in a way . and ah. i think that's , possible of course but then again . um . damaging someone . . . what would that be then , eventually that they would learn the , the words or the sentences or the ideas in a wrong way . i don't know

K: ahaa . maybe it wouldn't be the ideas if the content comes through [...]

BST2: i would say still that it's a little bit petty issue in a way . . ah . if i have for example sentences or words the wrong way around , that in a way the bigger mistakes that teachers can make are much much more substantial , and frightening and and all that

Teacher BST2 challenges the claim that teachers could harm students by their less-than-perfect English skills and brings up the issue that there are considerably more serious things that teachers could do wrong and which could be shadowed by the language question. This can certainly happen as well, and L2 competence should be considered as only one of the necessary components of CLIL teachers' professionalism. There are also ways for teachers to improve their English skills in case they are lacking. However, since the Ministry of Education in Finland has set standards for CLIL teachers' language skills after recommendations by language experts (see e.g. Takala *et al.* 1998: 141), it would seem questionable not to enforce these rules.

6.5. Aspects of Subject Teacher Training in English

As I am working at the Department of Teacher Education in the University of Helsinki in the STEP Project that is piloting courses in subject teacher education in English, I was interested in finding out what the teachers interviewed for this study would find important in such education. This section attempts to answer the research question:

4) What do teachers find important in international subject teacher education?

The special issues of specific education about CLIL methodology and the necessity of foreign experience are also dealt with.

Two of the teachers (EFL1 and BCT1) attended class teacher education in English at the University of Helsinki and they also shared their valuable experience in it. Although both of the teachers were overall quite happy with the education they received and some foreign lecturers had also been invited to teach in the program, it had not delivered quite as much as it had promised:

BCT1: but in a lot of ways it, it was a bit artificial . . because our teachers at the uni . . had no experience of teaching in english ..a lot of them . i mean some of them would have a really good knowledge of their subject in english and they would lead that perfectly . and they would have , they would provide us with with really good material . but then other ones were just hopeless . they said , at the beginning of their course they said look . i've been asked to do this in english but can i , just do it in finnish

Both of the teachers found the poor level of many university lecturers' English skills as a definite disappointment. As all students had been Finnish-speaking Finnish natives, the situation in class had also felt quite artificial:

EFL1: can't say it was international in any sense . so in that sense .. from that point of view it was very artificial to have all the native finnish speakers with a teacher who spoke very poorly . you know . in the same classroom and trying to do things in english

In the courses piloted by the STEP Project in the spring 2010, this factor was taken into account and all classes had foreign exchange students so that English was truly the lingua franca. Not only were the Finnish lecturers and Finnish students non-natives of English, but also the very majority of the

exchange students; thus English was the common medium of communication. Teacher BCT1 emphasized that it is imperative that an international program would deliver what it promises at a high level of education:

BCT1: probably just ensuring .. ensuring that the level of , of education , like really providing it in english , and really ensuring that it , it would be what it's meant to be . . and not , not leaving it up to , up to the teachers to do it their own way . . [...] i wasn't really taught . . taught all the concepts in english .. because the teacher didn't have the knowledge of doing it in english . . so what i mean is that the the the teachers providing the courses would , would really know what they're doing . and they would have the qualifications to do it . and and the students would really get , what they're . what they're promised

As one of the measures to reach a genuinely international higher education community, the Ministry of Education (2009: 31) states that “the higher education institutions require that teachers teaching in a foreign language demonstrate their skill in the teaching language by a language certificate or in some other way determined by the higher education institution.” Although university lecturers would not be in a similar situation as CLIL teachers at school that they would be expected to teach the language to the students per se, it is of course important that they possess knowledge of subject-related terminology to be able to run their lectures efficiently and possess fluent communication skills in English in order to encourage general discussion in class. The Language Centre at the University of Helsinki offers courses for university lecturers teaching in English. Similar courses offered for CLIL teachers as supplemental education would probably be welcome for their professional development. Teacher BST1 suggested that information for subject teachers of suitable language courses would be beneficial:

BST1: and then perhaps . if you're not a native english speaker how could you improve your skills like . er , what courses would be , would be good for you and then how how could you improve your skills like in self-studying methods . that perhaps would be good

Teacher EFL1 felt that it had been really beneficial for her to learn about the pedagogies of several different subjects in her teacher training, even though she now works as an EFL teacher. Although one year of subject teachers' pedagogical studies is less than class teachers' pedagogical studies, teacher

EFL1 thought having teacher trainees from different subjects learning different didactic principles together would definitely be beneficial for them, although she was a little doubtful of how it could be managed in such a short time. Having different subject teacher trainees studying together might well be the case with the STEP Project courses in the future, and according to these teachers, it could be seen as a strength of the program. Having a wider repertoire of different kinds of teaching methods can enrich lessons and better involve students equipped with different learning styles.

EFL1: i attended all these lectures about and and about other subjects too because then you have a broader view sort of what kind of things you can do [...] even even though i'm teaching only english now but to have some kind of idea how how they teach mathematics how they teach science how they teach arts

BST1: but exchanging information related , from various subjects and i think it's good

When asked what in particular would be important to take into account in an international teacher education program, teacher BST2's reply was that he did not think it would require anything different if the teachers are to teach in Finland. (Teacher BST2's replies to questions regarding subject teacher training were received via email.)

BST2: If the teachers will be teaching in Finland I don't see much point in deviating from the regular. If the teacher students will work abroad it is difficult to anticipate their concerns.

According to the Ministry of Education (2009: 29), to achieve genuinely international education, as would be the goal with the STEP courses, it requires "multilingualism and cultural competence from both the students and the entire personnel." Thus, it is not enough that the teaching language is English, but it should be taken into account that there are students from different countries and they come from different cultural backgrounds. Also, international students who would attend the program can be expected to return to their home countries to teach, and thus this education should be seen as something that can be exported to other countries and applied there.

In teacher BST2's opinion, the subject teacher training does not do a sufficient job in preparing teacher trainees for the actual teaching:

BST2: I must say that in overall the pedagogica[l] studies do not prepare teachers to their work. Only the work in itself can do the job.

During their pedagogical studies in teacher training school, subject teacher trainees are loaded with theoretical knowledge about learning and teaching, they learn to prepare lesson plans, and they observe and teach several classes. However, as teacher BST2 explains, it is only once novice teachers are faced with the responsibility of conducting their own lessons unsupervised that they begin to finalize their teacher training. For one starting out as a CLIL teacher, there is the extra burden of having to deal with a foreign language. According to Lechner (2009: 217), subject teachers in Europe are often surprised by the reality that a working knowledge of the L2 is not enough.

BST2: In the beginning preparation of the lessons takes more time than might be expected. On the other hand the teaching resources can be more abundant. All teachers must go through somewhat humilita[t]ing novice period (ok, there are probably exceptions to this rule) and it might seem more devastating when you must struggle with the language too. However, this should be considered the final stage of teacher training rather than actual work.

As collecting teaching material is a time-consuming task for CLIL teachers, teacher BST1 suggested that teacher trainees would be given advice on how to build up their own material bank.

BST1: and then the material question is . how to build up your material because at the moment you got to do it basically all alone you don't have that much support it would be , some advice with that would perhaps be good

Since the STEP courses are not geared for CLIL teachers, and since the pedagogical modules are already a heavy load of studies for teacher trainees, adding extra course content is probably not feasible. However, offering specialized training for CLIL teachers would be what many experts are calling for and what is already offered at the University of Jyväskylä in their JULIET Program for class teacher training (www.jyu.fi/edu/laitokset/okl/opiskelu/sivuaaineet/juliet/en/intro). A Master of Education program at the University of Oulu (www.oulu.fi/ktk/kasope/master/index.htm) specializes on educating teachers for multicultural settings, and its graduates can work as class teachers in the elementary school. Thus, the JULIET and the Master of Education program are

not for subject teachers in the lower and upper secondary schools. In fact, there does not seem to be a program at a Finnish university that would be geared for secondary school CLIL teachers. The only university in Finland that offers subject teacher training (although not CLIL) for Finnish and English secondary schools is a program called *Dual Teaching Qualification Studies*, organized jointly by the University of Tampere (http://www.uta.fi/laitokset/okl/tokl/opiskelu/muu_koulutus.php) and the University of Cumbria (Hildén *et al.* 2009: 25–26). As Nikula & Marsh (1999: 116) state, the Finnish teacher education should respond to the challenge of CLIL education and its existence in the Finnish school system. To an extent this has happened with the start of the above-mentioned programs, but supplemental education for secondary school CLIL teachers has not, at least not systematically, been organized.

Both bilingual subject teachers in this study also explained that they had not consciously planned a career as a CLIL teacher: opportunities had arisen and they had capitalized on them.

BST2: but i must say that for example i i never planned , this career . i just kind of like happened to , be there

BST1: it wasn't really my plan , when i was studying <ABROAD> that i end up as a . secondary school teacher . it just , you know , it combined well with family life and things like that

It could be assumed that the case often is that becoming a CLIL teacher simply appears as a career opportunity and it is not something that a young teacher trainee deliberately trains toward. CLIL teaching is not offered at all schools and it mostly concentrates in the bigger cities in Finland – therefore jobs as CLIL teachers are reasonably scarce as well. Thus, it would be sensible that there would be supplemental CLIL teaching workshops or courses that teachers could partake in as part of their lifelong learning and professional development. I believe that CLIL teachers who are sensitive to their students' learning and who are self-reflecting professionals aware of their own strengths and weaknesses can also develop the necessary skills on the job – as seems to be the case with the interviewed teachers in this study. However, learning of the skills could be accelerated if CLIL teachers were made aware of the special problems and

features particular to this type of teaching. Both teachers BST1 and BST2 agree that it could be helpful for CLIL teachers to take a methods course specializing in teaching in a foreign language, but neither of them had ever even heard of such courses.

- K: do you think it would be helpful if there was , ah . maybe there are some courses [...] that would be for bilingual teachers like what , things that you have to take into account , when you're teaching , in a tongue that's not your own
- BST1: yeah , it would be good , definitely , if there would be some

Experts (e.g. Marsland 1997, Genesee 2003, Coonan 2007) argue that students' comprehension and learning in an L2 is not always as automatic as in their L1, and the CLIL teachers in this study have realized this by confirming their students' understanding regularly. Teacher BST1 mentions, however, that it would be beneficial for teachers to be taught more specifically of the way students learn and the areas which have been found to be more difficult, not just in CLIL education but overall:

- BST1: if there's some research or knowledge related to how students do understand these subjects and what are particularly difficult for them and things like that
- K: do you mean in a foreign language or just overall
- BST1: overall

Features or problems concerning learning in an L2 are specifically those types of issues that, according to Lechner (2009: 212), should be taken into account and made part of language teacher training all over Europe. Teacher BST2 doubts this can be taken into account in regular teacher training, and that is most probably the case due to time constraints and the dense current program.

- BST2: There might be some special concerns that emerge from the fact that the teaching language is not Finnish, but this is probably something quite difficult to take into consideration more specifically in the training program.

However, there could be multidisciplinary cooperation between the Department of Teacher Education, subject departments and the Unit of English Philology to answer this call. Many of the schools with CLIL education in Finland concentrate in Greater Helsinki, and thus it would make sense to have the University of Helsinki involved in offering specialized education for CLIL teachers. In some other European countries, for example in the Netherlands (de

Graaff *et al.* 2007: 605), several institutions offer specialized training for CLIL teaching. In Finland, the only thing that is now regulated for CLIL teachers – besides of course their official teacher qualifications as either a class or a subject teacher – is teachers' language competence but there are no official guidelines or requirements for CLIL teachers' other competences. According to Rasinen (2006), the success of CLIL education lies on teacher education and teachers' further education as well as on development of core curriculum work. Such further education geared for CLIL teachers should definitely be made more available if it is indeed considered that important. However, since studies done on students' learning an L2 and content knowledge have been very positive and proved that they have in fact learned as much as they should (see e.g. Järvinen 1999, Jäppinen 2003), perhaps the insistence on CLIL teachers' needing specialized CLIL methodology training is not as necessary as we are led to believe. A self-reflecting teacher will stay sensitive to the moment and adjust teaching according to the mood and level of students. And no recently graduated teacher can be expected to be a fully-fledged professional without first accumulating some years of work experience. According to a Eurydice (2006: 41–44) report on the current state of CLIL education in Europe, few countries require special language or CLIL methodology qualifications from CLIL teachers. In fact, Finland is one of the few countries that has stipulated a decree on language competence, and no country has clear regulations regarding specific aspects of CLIL teaching principles. As Finland is also one of the few European countries requiring a Master's degree from all fully qualified teachers, perhaps requiring further qualifications for CLIL education would make it harder to find teachers who would fulfil all the requirements as studying times in Finland are already long.

A key to successful CLIL education is teachers' own personal interest in and commitment to the work, as it is more time-consuming and challenging than regular mainstream teaching due to accumulation of suitable material and working with a language other than the mother tongue (Mustaparta & Tella 1999: 47). The subject teachers BST1 and BST2 both emphasized that they find their work rewarding in spite of its challenges:

- K: do you think there are any challenges or disadvantages in teaching clil . . like for you
- BST2: well . ah of course er , if you would say that , if the group you're teaching , would be more homogenous . it might be sometimes easier just to, kind of like , push forward . but i think , usually i have to be very sensitive and in a way . check this and that and ah [...] so there are some practical matters i guess
- [...]
- K: how do you think of it from the perspective of a teacher . like ah , how is it beneficial , or is it just a . different challenge
- BST2: once again probably opens up more opportunities , that . especially for a . it was ah , it was a tough school of course in the sense that if you think that the first school where i taught . was an english one , so i think i had to do , double or triple times , the work that i would've done if i'd gone to a finnish school i would say that . especially in the early career of a teacher it's very very , stressful and demanding when there are so many things that in a way , you'll have to prepare and . usually everyone recognizes that you're a little bit fresh , with the thing and so on . but i think then it's also very very , kind of like ah . rewarding eventually
- BST1: but i i like this job very much . it's very rewarding

As Morgan (2004: 174) also writes, CLIL teachers' identity should be used consciously as pedagogical value and it is likely something that shows through in teachers' commitment to their students and lesson planning.

6.5.1. International Experience

I also asked the teachers whether they thought foreign experience is necessary or beneficial for EFL or CLIL teachers. All but one teacher had some sort of foreign experience of at least a few weeks. Four teachers (EFL1, EFL2, BCL1, BST1) had stayed or lived in an English-speaking country, but of course all teachers agreed that an extended stay in an English environment is good for the improvement of language competence. No one thought that it should be mandatory for EFL or CLIL teachers to have foreign experience, although they agreed that it would be beneficial to gain experience from a different culture:

- K: do you think it would benefit you if you had some international experience
- BST2: yes . i would be very interested actually in going abroad . but i must say that , well at the moment , the situation the family's that it would be very difficult to leave now [...] but i think that is probably something , i would like to experiment

Teacher BCT2 had other foreign experience and elaborated how she finds even trips to an English-speaking country helpful. She also explained how it was not

as easy for teachers who are now in their 50's or older to go abroad to stay when they were young. Thus, she does not think foreign experience is mandatory but that it definitely helps:

BCT2: i don't think it's a must but then you have to be an awfully good pedagog otherwise [...] and of course it adds a lot . i can tell stories from england all the time because i've been there myself . it gives a personal touch to my teaching
<QUOTE TRANSLATED>

As part of even regular EFL teaching, teachers are expected to teach students not only the language but also about foreign cultures. This is of course easier if they have personal experience from foreign countries and cultures themselves. Finland is also becoming more multicultural and although the requirement of strong Finnish skills probably denies the entry into CLIL classes from many children with immigrant backgrounds, gradually all classes will be more and more multicultural.

Teacher EFL1 has studied at an English university but not done a teaching practicum in an English-speaking country. She thinks a foreign practicum would definitely benefit someone who plans to become a CLIL teacher:

K: do you think that could be beneficial to learn how the school life is in a foreign country
EFL1: i think it would be beneficial especially if one plans to be a classroom teacher in in .. in . a bilingual setting or a. whole english environment

Although she does not think a foreign practicum should be a requirement for CLIL teachers, teacher BCT1 recommends it and explains how it is valuable and enriching in seeing how things can be done differently and also in noticing how teachers in Finland are allowed to work independently and how their work is trusted and appreciated:

BCT1: i think it's really , really good . i don't think it should be . . umm sort of a . compulsory , necessity , but i think it it would be definitely beneficial if there would be , just one teaching practice abroad . i mean it's not easy for everyone to organize it if you've got a family and all that but if , if possible , i think it would be really good . . just to look into another culture and the way they do it . [...] just having a look at ah different way of doing it . and and seeing native speakers doing their own job . [...] you see a different , a different sort of style of , of running it . i think it's really beneficial . it's just an eye eye-opener
K: yeah and maybe you can pick up . like there's not only the one right way to do

something . but you can pick up ideas of how to do something in a different way . or just to vary in your own classes , maybe

BCT1: yeah and also to realize that in finland they . ah , in general , teachers are trusted a lot . like . and their professionalism is appreciated . they're giving a lot of , given a lot of , sort of independence and . . you know to do their job . the way they . think , is the best way to do it . . as in . ahh in in some other countries . it's really restricted . they have to do , all these plans beforehand and , hand them in to the principal and . really have it so . done in a in a specific way and you can't really do it different , because that's the way they always do it

When teachers take a little distance from the school system at home and see how things are done elsewhere, they can also learn to be more objective in their own teaching and look at it from different perspectives.

7. Discussion

The interviews with different types of teachers teaching English or in English in different kinds of schools shed light on the diversity of issues that these teachers come into contact with daily. The purpose of this study was to find out the teachers' own perceptions of teaching English or in English. The first two research questions deal with the teachers' conceptions of language and their own opinions of how they deal with teaching English and in English. The two EFL teachers (EFL1 and EFL2) did not even aim to use English all the time in the class and neither of them would have felt comfortable with their English skills teaching a content class in English. All the four bilingual class teachers and bilingual subject teachers said they felt confident in their language skills when teaching through English, but one of the class teachers (BCT2), however, did not want to be interviewed in English. She was also the only one of the CLIL teachers who felt that, while teaching in English, it affects her personality because she is not able to express herself as colourfully as in her mother tongue. One bilingual class teacher (BCT1) and one bilingual subject teacher (BST1) had spent long periods of time in English-speaking countries and this had obviously strengthened their English skills and made English feel like their second language. The other bilingual subject teacher (BST2) had never lived in an English-speaking country but, as is perhaps usual also with the younger generation of teachers, had acquired his English competence from his school days, through the media, English-language games and from reading university books in English.

One bilingual subject teacher (BST1) was the only one who makes a conscious effort to use only English all the time in and outside of his lessons with his students, and he considers that an important and successful principle for encouraging them to use only English in communication with him. The other bilingual subject teacher (BST2) did not find it typical of him to revert to Finnish during his class, but he had no principle in the matter, instead explained how he tries to stay sensitive to the moment and use the language which seems most appropriate. Both the bilingual class teachers (BCT1 and BCT2) use both

English and Finnish during the lessons because they either felt the students did not understand their messages or instructions always in English, or the fact of having a text book in Finnish was too complicating. Teacher BCT2 also said she uses Finnish when there are bad behavioural issues to deal with in class management.

One fact that makes teaching in English somewhat different from teaching in Finnish is the amount of repetition, and all the teachers teaching in English felt that they needed to check for students' understanding on a regular basis. One of the bilingual class teachers (BCT1) felt this particularly troublesome because she thought some of her students' English skills were not strong enough. The bilingual class teachers (BCT1 and BCT2) felt they advanced somewhat slower during lessons because of the repetitions. Some of the teachers had also been faced with the problem of some students clearly having problems in learning due to weak mother tongue skills.

The bilingual subject teachers (BST1 and BST2) did not think that it was any harder for them to teach in English compared to Finnish. There are things that are different in their way of teaching because of not having ready-made English textbooks. Teacher BST1 explained how he uses a lot of discussion during his classes and the students need to take down notes. Teacher BST2 finds using visual cues in his teaching important regardless of the language and considers it a pedagogical choice. He also finds English an advantage in creating new learning environments for students who are fully able to function in English. Finding and collecting English teaching material is a huge time-consuming process that every CLIL teacher has to face as often ready-made material is simply not available. Using own material in teaching was, however, not always considered negative as it fit the bilingual subject teachers' personal teaching style.

The third research question looked for the teachers' opinions regarding CLIL teachers' English competence qualifications. Five of the teachers (all but EFL2) agreed that a good example in English is important as a CLIL teacher. The

teachers' opinions differed whether there should be some actual standards for CLIL teachers' language skills. One EFL and one bilingual class teacher (EFL1 and BCT1) thought that teachers should have formal English education. Whether coincidence or not, but these teachers are also the ones educated in the English-language class teacher education. One EFL teacher (EFL2) thought it was more important for CLIL teachers to be qualified in the subject that they are teaching. The bilingual subject teachers (BST1 and BST2) did not think formal qualifications would be necessary because teachers can, if needed, update their skills through taking English courses, and the skills also improve by daily practice at school. One bilingual class teacher (BCT2) considered it good enough that the principal of a school would test the CLIL teacher's English skills. This is, however, how in practice the matter must have been dealt with until now, because none of these teachers were aware of the language competence qualifications set by the Ministry of Education more than a decade ago. Interestingly, in this study only the teachers (EFL1 and BCT1) who have graduated from the English class teacher program are officially qualified for CLIL teaching, because even a minor in English is not enough.

The fourth research question asked for the EFL and CLIL teachers' opinions on what would be essential in international subject teacher training in English. The two teachers who had graduated from the English class teacher education from the University of Helsinki emphasized that an international program should really deliver what it promises so that students will not be disappointed either by a possible lack in lecturers' English skills or overall quality of education. Having teacher trainees from different subjects learning different didactic and pedagogic approaches together was seen as a strength so that subject teachers would learn to take a look at teaching from different perspectives. As teachers might not consciously plan a career as a CLIL teacher already during their studies, many could be willing to participate in CLIL related workshops or courses offered as supplemental education but the subject teachers in this study had not even heard of any. All teachers found international experience beneficial for an EFL or CLIL teacher but none thought it should be mandatory. Teacher BCT2 brought up of how going abroad to study or live was not even

very easy or common 20 years ago. Learning from different cultures is enriching for an individual and beneficial in today's multicultural world, and personal experience from foreign countries helps to enliven lessons, adjust teaching to fit content taught in the foreign language, as well as to take into account students with foreign backgrounds. Teacher training abroad helps to take a different perspective to familiar school life at home.

8. Validity and Reliability

The purpose of this study was to gain an insight into teachers' own conceptions of English and perceptions of using English in their work and teaching content through English. I had three different types of teachers as research participants in this study: two work as English teachers, two as bilingual class teachers, and two as bilingual subject teachers. The bilingual subject teachers had acquired their English skills outside of formal English philology studies; the other four had had English either as their minor or major subject in a university. The diversity in the teachers' education was seen as a strength in this study as they attest to the variety of ways how teachers can end up teaching English or in English. The selection of two teachers for each teacher type was made consciously to increase reliability in the study.

This study was a case study with six different teachers. Their situations have many similarities but also differences since they work with different students in different schools, at different levels, and come from different backgrounds of education. These points should be taken into account if a study similar to this was to be conducted as results can vary according to teachers' different backgrounds and experiences. However, in order to get as trustworthy results as possible, all interviews were recorded and later transcribed. The analysis of the results – and validity of the study – is strengthened by using direct quotes from the teachers' own words (see e.g. Creswell 2003: 197). In addition, most of the posed questions were pre-formulated (Appendix 1) so that the same questions could be asked from all the teachers that they pertained to. Of course, it would have added reliability to this study if each teachers' lessons could have been observed, but it was not feasible within the limits of this study and neither considered necessary as it was the teachers' own opinions that were sought.

9. Conclusion

It can be considered a strength of CLIL that it can be modified to fit different systems in different countries and also at a local level. However, I think it should be made very explicit at the school level which the system is that a particular school is engaged in, for example, regarding the amount of English spoken in a particular class, so that students and the parents of the students know what to expect and even demand. If it is left up to individual teachers to decide how much of a lesson is conducted in English, or if it is not confirmed whether official school policy is adhered to, then the program might not deliver what it is supposed to. This can result in students' English competence not reaching the levels it should or the students not learning all the content they should be learning. I know from personal experience with my own bilingual family that the majority language in a country is very strong and children like to use the language which is the easiest for them. Thus, they need extra encouragement and determination from their parent or teacher to use the weaker language.

It was alarming to hear from the teachers that sometimes there are students in CLIL classes who struggle because they do not possess a strong competence in any language. If parents refuse to transfer these children into a class taught in the children's mother tongue, the children can develop learning problems or lag behind in their education. Although many CLIL programs test students for their linguistic readiness, no test is foolproof. If parents do not understand and accept what is best for their children, there should be a way for the school system to intervene. As schools struggle to get funding for special education teachers or teacher assistants in the main stream education, there is even less help available for CLIL classes – especially in English.

What became evident in this study was that teachers' own confidence in their English skills makes a difference. It is not a guarantee that a degree in English necessarily guarantees fluent English skills for teaching content in English, or using English for 100 per cent of a lesson. This study showed that the teachers using the most English were the only ones without any formal English

education. This could be because of the students' school level as well, since these teachers taught in the lower and upper secondary schools. Is it another possible coincidence in this study that these two teachers are men?

Experts call for education specialized in CLIL methodology but there does not seem to be any regular programs at Finnish universities that would be geared for secondary school CLIL teachers. It should be made more available if it is truly considered that important. Finland is one of the few European countries that has determined language competence requirements for CLIL teachers, but in practice many schools are either not aware of them or they choose to ignore them. Strong language skills are obviously not the only factor that makes up a good CLIL teacher. Instead, a quality of a good teacher is that he or she actively takes students into account in planning and running lessons. However, if official government policy is not adhered to, it also undermines the work of the experts who recommended the language requirements. It is also puzzling why CLIL teachers who teach less than four classes a week do not need to pass language requirements. Even if it were only one subject, it is the students who would suffer, if they will not get adequate teaching in those lessons.

There has not been much, if any, advancement in sharing teacher resources in CLIL education when compared to ten or more years ago. Collecting material should be taken into account in determining CLIL teachers work hours or funding should be allocated from the governmental level for arranging a material bank for CLIL education so that CLIL teachers are not overburdened and will not get discouraged in their work. Although accumulating material was considered a tedious job, it was encouraging to hear from especially the bilingual subject teachers how they nevertheless enjoyed their work and found it rewarding.

For subject teacher training in English, the main point brought up was that the program should really offer what it promises so that interested students know what to expect. Having teacher trainees from different subjects learning different pedagogies together was seen as a strength. Maybe that would also help to

break down barriers between teachers at school and encourage them into cooperation and teamwork with each other. Cooperation between language and subject teachers could make it possible to organize, for example, projects in a foreign language and, thus, offer students from the regular classes an opportunity to partake in occasional CLIL education where they could utilize and practice their foreign language skills in a meaningful way.

Many experts find it important that CLIL teachers have knowledge of the linguistic features of the L2 so that they can effectively contribute to students' grammatical L2 development. Personally, I find CLIL teachers' fluent English skills essential so that they can be good role models for their students and successfully run their lessons. But maybe it is an outdated idea that CLIL teachers should be language experts? Perhaps giving secondary school students an environment, where they can freely express and process their ideas and thoughts in an L2 without having to pay attention to grammatical issues, is a more current need. As English is the lingua franca in the world, and today most often English is spoken between non-natives, perhaps what students would benefit more from is a setting where they can work on increasing their fluency and communication skills without having to feel critical of their L2 competence. It might also be a relief for CLIL teachers, especially those who have strong English skills but no formal studies in English linguistics. As non-native speakers of English (or any other foreign language), we are often harsh on ourselves for making mistakes, although they are part of our speech even in our mother tongue. We "own" our mother tongue, and thus anything goes! For further research, it would be interesting to find out CLIL students' point of view: Do students find that they can rely on their formal English classes for the grammatical development of their English skills? Or do they also require support for it from their CLIL teachers? Students studying in bilingual education in the upper secondary school will usually take a matriculation exam in English or even qualification tests in English for foreign universities (such as the AICE Diploma), so in the end it matters how well they have learned the grammar.

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Appendix 1

QUESTIONS FOR THE CLIL/BILINGUAL/ENGLISH TEACHERS

1. How long have you been a teacher? A CLIL teacher? What classes have you taught? Which do you teach now?
2. Why did you become a CLIL teacher? Why did you want to?
3. Did you do a practicum outside of Finland? Where?
4. How important do you think it is for a CLIL teacher to have international experience?
5. Your conceptions of language? What do you think of English vs. Finnish? Bilingualism? (Compare with traditional Finnish-Swedish.)
6. Your language skills? How did you learn English? Foreign experience?
7. How do you cope with English? Do you also use Finnish? Why/why not? Is it important to keep the languages separate? How natural is it for you to speak in English?
8. What do you think of English as a lingua franca? Is it ok not to speak English native-like?
9. Is there something you would have liked/would like to have help with language wise?
10. How is it to teach in ESL to students of ESL?
11. What makes CLIL rewarding? Why do think it benefits Finnish children?
12. Do you correct students for their grammatical/linguistic mistakes?
13. Do you focus on form?
14. Students with varying levels of English mastery: how do you take it into account in lessons? Or do you notice a difference?
15. Do you take into account teaching both language and content? Consciously?
16. What do you think of CLIL teachers who do not have any formal English training?
17. Do you think CLIL teachers should have formal English education?
18. Do you think there is rivalry between EFL teachers and CLIL teachers?
19. Is there something that makes CLIL harder to teach than regular teaching (challenges)? Have you done both? Is CLIL more demonstrative? Do you advance slower?
20. Do you get support from the head of the school? From other CLIL teachers at your school? Are you in contact with other CLIL teachers elsewhere in Finland? Is there cooperation with EFL teachers?
21. Where do you get your materials from? Do you make up your own?
22. Are there disadvantages about CLIL? About teaching in ESL?

Questions for the teachers from the English teacher education program:

- 23. Why did you apply for the English-language education?
- 24. What did you think of it?
- 25. What do you think was the greatest gain from it?
- 26. Was there something you didn't like?

For all teachers:

- 27. What do you think an international program for Subject Teacher Training in English should consist of? What would be important?
- 28. Is there something different that CLIL teachers should be taught from the "regular" Finnish teachers?